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Onomatopoeic Neologisms in Japanese Comics *

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キーワード：onomatopoeia, neologism, metaphorical extension

一般に、オノマトペ（擬音（声）語・擬態語）は創造性が豊かなことがその大きな特徴の一つとされている（箕 1993a, 1993b, 苅阪 1999, 田守 2002, 飯島 2004 など）。しかし、オノマトペに関する従来の研究では、辞書に掲載されるような一般に認知度の高い表現を取り扱うものが大部分であり、こうしたオノマトペ語彙の生成的側面については研究が希薄であった。

また、このような豊かな創造性によって創作された新奇のオノマトペ表現を扱う研究では、文学作品や近現代詩を扱ったものがこれまで主であった。しかしながら、日本の戦後マンガはオノマトペの使用頻度が非常に高いことが知られており、オノマトペ表現が観察されやすいテキストジャンルの一つとしてマンガは大きな位置を占めている。特にオノマトペ表現の生成的側面に着目する場合、マンガに現れる新奇のオノマトペ表現は文学作品等に現れる比ではなく、新造語形の宝庫といえる。

そこで、本稿では、マンガのオノマトペに見られる新造表現を観察することで、新奇の表現形が創り出される際の言語化の傾向を整理し、新造表現の創発の過程について認知言語学的観点から考察を試みた。まず、第2節では、関連する先行研究を概観するとともにオノマトペに関する主要な概念についてふれ、第3節では、マンガから収集した実際の用例に基づいて、前稿の井上（2007b）による新造オノマトペの分類と比較して新奇の表現創発のパターンの整理を行った。また、第4節では、Hamano (1998) の提唱するオノマトペ語彙のもついくつかの制約に対し、マンガに現れる新奇のオノマトペ表現の中にはそれらの制約に違反するものも数例見られることを見た。そして、第5節では、慣習的なオノマトペ表現が比喩的拡張を見せる例について考察した。

* マンガにおける日本語オノマトペの新造表現（井上 加寿子）

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1 Introduction

In the last few decades, a considerable number of articles have mentioned the rich creativity of *onomatopoeia*¹ as one of the significant features of Japanese onomatopoeia (Takehi 1993a, 1993b; Osaka 1999; Tamori 2002; Iijima 2004). However, most of the previous studies on onomatopoeia have discussed only expressions which are highly conventionalized or therefore often listed in major dictionaries. They have treated novel onomatopoeia which are coined with such creativity, or *neologisms*,² only as exceptional expressions; thus far, little interest has been shown towards numerous onomatopoeic neologisms in spite of their great number.

Another question is that most of those studies have discussed onomatopoeia mainly in popular literature or poetry. As Natsume (1997: 113) mentioned, however, the frequency of onomatopoeic expressions in Japanese comics has recently been increasing. There is no doubt that comics are one of the important genres in which onomatopoeic expressions can comparatively freely and frequently occur.

This paper is intended as an investigation of neologisms of onomatopoeia in Japanese comics. Section 2 reviews previous studies and several significant features of onomatopoeia in Japanese. Section 3 investigates onomatopoeic expressions in Japanese comics and attempts to clarify the patterns of neologisms of onomatopoeia. Section 4 discusses novel onomatopoeic forms in comics compared to several constraints which Hamano (1998) suggests about conventional onomatopoeia. Section 5 considers them from the cognitive linguistic perspective and Section 6 presents my conclusion and suggests directions for further research.

2 Features of Onomatopoeia in Japanese

2.1 Productivity of Onomatopoeic Expressions

As mentioned in the preceding section, there are many studies on onomatopoeia and its rich creativity. Takehi (1993a, 1993b) mention ad hoc and coined onomatopoeic expressions as *nonce formations*. Iijima (2004: 31-33) states that onomatopoeia has two stages: *iconic imitation* and *onomatopoeia*. He explains that, in the first stage, people

¹ Traditionally, there are three kinds of mimetic words in Japanese; *giongo* 'sound-mimicking words' and *giseigo* 'voice-mimicking words,' which are generally called *onomatopoeia* in a narrow sense, and *gitaigo* 'mode-mimicking words' or mimetics (Hamano 1998). In this paper, I will use the term *onomatopoeia* to refer to the three of *giongo*, *giseigo* and *gitaigo* in a broad sense.

² For a discussion of onomatopoeia and neologisms, see Hamano (1998: 133).

iconically imitate certain sounds or impressions with speech sounds, and such imitated expressions are gradually becoming conventionalized into onomatopoeia. Tamori (2002: 108-132) mentions such nonce formation as well.

From the perspective of experimental psychology, Osaka (1999: 20-21) conducted a psychological experiment to combine each sound representation of the Japanese syllabary at random by computer and coin expressions with two syllables (for example, *pi-pu-pi-pu*, *po-pi-po-pi*, and so on). The result was that those expressions provoked a kind of onomatopoeic impression. He considers that this result suggests onomatopoeic expressions are highly creative.

2. 2 Onomatopoeic Neologisms

Let us turn to several studies on novel onomatopoeic expressions coined with high productivity. Takiura (1996) investigated all of the onomatopoeic expressions in the poetry of Kenji Miyazawa, including both conventional and unconventional onomatopoeia, and classifies them into six categories: 1) conventional expressions, 2) conventional expressions within unusual collocations, 3) derivations from common words, 4) derivations from conventional onomatopoeia, 5) neologisms, and 6) other types of neologisms.³ Tamori (2002) also investigated onomatopoeic neologisms in two famous novels of Kenji Miyazawa, *Ginga Tetsudoo-no Yoru* and *Kaze-no Matasaburoo*. He compares Miyazawa's onomatopoeic neologisms in the novels with conventional onomatopoeia and classifies them into three categories: 1) morphological derivation, 2) phonological derivation, and 3) extension from normal usage of conventional onomatopoeia.

Based on these previous studies, Inoue (2007a) deals with only novel forms (Type 3, 4, and 5 in Takiura 1996) and discusses their phonological and morphological features from the perspective of *frequency effect* (Bybee 1988, 2001).⁴ In Inoue (2007b), further examples of onomatopoeic neologisms were collected from modern poetry and analyzed by the experimental psychological method, *SD (semantic differential) method*. The result shows that, from onomatopoeic neologisms, the subjects are inclined to get images of

³ His database of 1120 expressions with short contexts in total is now open to the Internet <<http://homepage.mac.com/karmatt/>>.

⁴ Bybee (2001: 12-13) shows two types of frequency effect, *token frequency* and *type frequency*. The latter is defined as follows:

Productivity is the extent to which a pattern is likely to apply to new forms (e.g., borrowed items or new formations). It appears that the productivity of a pattern, expressed in a schema, is largely, through or entirely, determined by its type frequency: the more items encompassed by a schema, the stronger it is, and the more available it is for application to new items (Bybee 2001: 12-13).

sound symbolism approximately similar to conventional onomatopoeia. We will return to this point in the next section.

2.3 Onomatopoeia in Comics

There are several previous studies which discuss onomatopoeic expressions especially used in comics. In the field of phonology, Nasu (2004) considers partial-reduplicated forms of onomatopoeia such as /gopopopo/ or /batiti/ as one of typical neologisms of onomatopoeia and discusses how they differ with conventional onomatopoeia in Hamano (1988); a total of 393 expressions were extracted from 18 titles, including 113 conventional expressions and 280 novel expressions. His study makes it clear that, as in /gopopopo/, /batiti/, /zudododo/, the phonemes /g,b,z,d,k/ are inclined to appear in C₁ of the CVCV stem in this order. On the other hand, in the field of studies on comics, Natsume (1997) mentions a certain effect which onomatopoeia may lend to other expressions and its important role in comics. Kinoshita (2004) discusses English onomatopoeic expressions in comics from comparison with the Japanese ones.

3 Patterns of Neologisms

3.1 Previous Studies

As we have seen above, in Inoue (2007b), around 180 unconventional onomatopoeic expressions were collected from major modern poems.⁵ Based on the previous studies of Takiura (1996) and Tamori (2002), we can reclassify them into five patterns of onomatopoeic neologisms as follows. In this section, we will discuss onomatopoeic neologisms in comics in detail with the classification in (1).

(1) Patterns of onomatopoeic neologisms (Inoue 2007b: 47)

a. Based on non-onomatopoeic words

<i>tsubu</i>	'a grain'	->	<i>tsubu-tsubu</i>	'many grains'
<i>buchi</i>	'a spot'	->	<i>buchi-buchi</i>	'many spots'

b. Combination of conventional onomatopoeia

<i>ahaha</i> + <i>kakaka</i>	'laughing'	->	<i>akaka-akaka</i>	'laughing'
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⁵ Kenji Miyazawa, Sakutaro Hagiwara, Shuntaro Tanikawa, Simpei Kusano, Hakusyu Kitahara, Chuuya Nakahara, Kiwao Nomura, Junzaburo Nishiwaki, Imaji Yamada, and several other modern poets from magazines such as *Gendaishi Techou*.

c. Morphological derivations from conventional onomatopoeia

<i>doku-doku</i>	->	<i>doku-doku-doku</i>	<reduplication>
<i>toro-toro</i>	->	<i>toro-ro</i>	<partial reduplication>
<i>gobo-gobo</i>	->	<i>goboN-goboN</i>	<addition of an intensifier /N/>

d. Phonological derivations from conventional onomatopoeia

<i>basha-basha</i>	->	<i>bosha-bosha</i>
<i>gobo-gobo</i>	->	<i>kobo-kobo</i>

e. Neologisms

<i>goQshinfuu</i>	'a sound of steam'
<i>roikuichiQpukyuriririri</i>	'chirps of a bird'

3. 2 Onomatopoeic Neologism in Comics

3. 2. 1 Onomatopoeia Markers

As Tamori and Schourup (1999: 19-20) state, very few onomatopoeia with a CV or CV stem can be observed in Japanese. They should appear almost always with “onomatopoeia markers” (Waida 1984): /Q/, /N/, /-ri/, and reduplicativeness.⁶ Let us refer to the following quotation about onomatopoeia of CVCV patterns.

(2) Onomatopoeia markers (Waida 1984: 57-58, underline mine)

Both “gion-go” and “gitai-go” are to be represented in the reduplicated forms of a phonological structure of CVCV-pattern as shown above, but if the phonological structure is not reduplicated, the form of the CVCV-pattern alone can not be acceptable onomatopoeia; eg., **bara-*, **doshi-*, **kasa-*, and **pata-* cannot act as a short free form. To work as a free form, the CVCV-pattern should be either repeated as in *bara-bara*, or it should be accompanied by one of such phonological forms as /'/(Q), /n/(N), and /ri/, [...]. In other words, Japanese onomatopoeias must be “marked” by one of these forms, if not repeated to make a reduplicated structure. So we would like to call these phonological forms as “onomatopoeia markers.” In addition, we set up another onomatopoeia marker R, or REDUPPLICATIVENESS, which can be applied to almost all of the onomatopoeia CVCV-patterns, as well as to other disyllabic and trisyllabic onomatopoeias in Japanese.

⁶ In this paper, I will use /Q/ to refer to っ ‘a geminate consonant,’ /N/ to ん ‘a syllabic nasal,’ and /R/ to — ‘a long vowel’ in Japanese.

However, not a few CV forms without any onomatopoeia markers are actually observed in comics as in (3).

(3) CV forms

ga

ko

go

bo

vu

mu

gu

nu

The most of the onomatopoeic expressions in comics are reduplicative forms of both CV and CVCV stems as in (4).

(4) Reduplication (cf. Tamori 2002, (1c))

a. Reduplicative forms of CV

ba-ba-ba-ba-ba

ki-ki-ki-ki-kii

b. Reduplicative forms of CVCV

beta-beta-beta-beta

butsu-butsu-butsu-butsu

kudo-kudo-kudo-kudo-kudo-kudo-kudo

zawa-zawa-zawa-zawa-zawa-zawa-zawa

As we have seen in Section 2.3, Nasu (2004) treats partial reduplicative forms of a CVCV stem as typical forms of onomatopoeic neologisms in comics. On one hand, I have found many partial reduplicative forms such as *churu-ru* as in Nasu (2004), for which the stem of the expression is $C_1V_1C_2V_2$ and the latter syllable (C_2V_2) is reduplicated. On the other hand, not only those typical reduplicative forms but also other types of reduplicative forms can be observed in comics: the forms reduplicating only the vowel of the latter syllable, V_2 , (CVCV-V) as in (5b), and those reduplicating a final element N (CVCVN-N)

as in (5c). Those expressions seem quite novel since they should not appear with repeated vowels as *jaaaaa* but with a long vowel as *jaR* in normal usage as in (5b).

(5) Partial reduplicative forms

a. CVCV-CV (cf. Nasu 2004, (1c))

churu-ru

doro-ro-ro-ro-ro-ro

jara-ra-ra-ra

zuga-ga-ga-ga-ga-ga

gobo-bo-bo-bo-boR

b. CVCV-V

zaa <- *zaR*

kii <- *kiR*

jaaaaa <- *jaR*

kooooo <- *koR*

bakiiiiRN <- *bakiRN*

muuQ <- *muRQ*

niyaaa <- *niyaR*

c. CVCVN-N

u-iRNN

gikoRNN

hyuRNN

guaaaNNN

gyuiRNNNNNN

One way of considering this is that the cartoonists effectively might apply the *sound-symbolic* system to create such unconventional expressions. In general, *Sound Symbolism* can be defined as follows.

(6) Sound symbolism (Hamano 1998)

- a. The short vowels, /i, e, a, o, u/ indicate that the event is completed instantaneously or that indicate the distance involved is short. The long vowels, /ii, ee, aa, oo, uu/ indicate that the action takes longer spatially or temporally and is more strenuously carried out.

(Hamano 1998: 72)

- b. N indicates that the direction of the motion or the quality of the sound changes toward the end. That is, it indicates that there is a reaction to or reverberation after the initial movement. It may indicate that the object is flexible or elastic and is capable of such reactions or reverberations. (Hamano 1998: 67)

3.2.2 Novel Forms

There are several onomatopoeic expressions which the cartoonists may coin based on sound symbolism as in (7). These examples are not very frequently found but may be used not only as *giongo/giseigo* but also *gitaigo*.

(7) Onomatopoeic neologisms (cf. (1e))

<i>nakeRQ-nakeRQ</i>	'chirps of pheasants'	<giseigo>
<i>shago-shago-shago-shago</i>	'sounds of moving insects'	<giongo>
<i>myuRN-nyuRN</i>	'a state of crying'	<giseigo/giongo/gitaigo>
<i>miji-miji</i>	'manner of a murky person'	<gitaigo>

3.2.3 Combination of Conventional Onomatopoeia

Here are examples which can analogize with a combination of some conventional onomatopoeia.

(8) Combination of conventional onomatopoeia (cf. Takiura 1996, (1b))

<i>gihyuN</i>	<-	<i>gi + hyuN</i>
<i>gukyuR</i>	<-	<i>gu + kyuR</i>
<i>dozaR</i>	<-	<i>do + zaR</i>
<i>shuboN-shuboN-shuboN</i>	<-	<i>shu + boN</i>

3.2.4 Unconventional Ways of Writing

Dakuten (゜) is a diacritical glyph usually used in the Japanese *kana* syllabaries; for example, か should be pronounced /ka/ and が should be /ga/. The *dakuten* glyph is not used for any vowels or voiced consonants in normal Japanese writing since it indicates that the voiceless consonant of a syllable should be pronounced voiced. However, some onomatopoeic expressions which contain voiced consonants with *dakuten* can be found in

comics as in (9a).⁷ Expressions which contain ゼ /ji/ and ワ /wo/ as in (9b, c) are quite rare as well since most onomatopoeia normally contain ジ /zi/ or オ /o/ instead of ゼ /ji/ and ワ /wo/ in writing. In most cases, the use of ゼ /ji/ and ワ /wo/ is avoided though both pronunciations are quite similar to each other in Japanese.

Furthermore, there are some other expressions in unconventional ways of writing in Japanese: forms containing /wo/ as in (9c), forms using /-mu/ as an alternative to the final /N/ as in (9d), and forms containing /N/ in the initial position as in (9e).

(9) Unconventional ways of writing in Japanese

a. With *dakuten*

え`え`え`え`	<i>eeee</i>
ワ`ビオオオオ	<i>wo-bi-oooo</i>
ヌ`	<i>nu</i>
ヴォン	<i>voN</i>
ヴォオー	<i>vuooR</i>
ヴァス ヴァス ヴァス	<i>vasu-vasu-vasu</i>
ヴォムヴォム	<i>vomu-vomu</i>

b. /ji/

バヂ	<i>baji</i>
ヂヂヂヂヂ	<i>ji-ji-ji-ji-ji</i>

c. /wo/

ワビオオオオ	<i>wobioooo</i>
ブワ	<i>buwo</i>

d. /-mu/ as an alternative to the final /N/

<i>buiRmu</i>	<-	<i>buiRN</i>
<i>bomu</i>	<-	<i>boN</i>
<i>batamu</i>	<-	<i>bataN</i>

e. /N/ in the initial position

<i>N-fuQ</i>
<i>N-kyuQ</i>

⁷ Sometimes *dakuten* glyphs may be added to vowels, especially *katakana* ウ /u/, in order to indicate a /v/ sound which does not exist in Japanese. It can be used for some loanwords such as ヴァイオリン 'a violin,' ヴェトナム 'Vietnam,' or ヴィーナス 'Venus,' but those expressions seem to be comparatively the uncommon way of writing in Japanese. In most cases, /b/ is preferred rather than /v/ in Japanese; they will use an expression ビデオ, not ヴィデオ, to refer to 'a video' in Japanese.

3. 2. 5 Derivations from Common Words

Here are some examples which are possibly derived from conventional onomatopoeia with a phonological change.

(10) Phonological derivations from conventional onomatopoeia (cf. Tamori 2002, (1d))

<i>nyoQ</i>	<-	<i>nyuQ</i>
<i>zako</i>	<-	<i>zaku</i>
<i>hoko-hoko</i>	<-	<i>hoka-hoka</i>
<i>gete-gete</i>	<-	<i>gera-gera</i>
<i>guwabuQ</i>	<-	<i>gabuQ</i>
<i>guwata-guwata-guwata</i>	<-	<i>gata-gata-gata</i>
<i>guwaN-guwaN-guwaN</i>	<-	<i>gaN-gaN-gaN</i>

In Inoue (2007a, 2007b) (see also (1a)), most of the expressions which seem to be derived from non-onomatopoeic common words are reduplicated forms of a CVCV stem. On the contrary, onomatopoeic expressions in comics are not always reduplicated forms as in (11).

Natsume (1997: 122-124) treats these expressions as “nouns used onomatopoeically in comics.” In fact, it is debatable whether these expressions should be considered as proper onomatopoeia, but it is clear that they often appear with onomatopoeia markers such as /Q/, /N/, /-ri/ (see (2)) in comics as in (11b). This indicates that the cartoonist may not only use such expressions with the intention to use them as onomatopoeia but also the reader of comics may recognize them as onomatopoeic expressions.

(11) Based on non-onomatopoeic words (cf. Natsume 1997, (1a))

a. *Onomatopenized*⁸ from common verbs

<i>mekuri</i>	<-	<i>mekuru</i>	‘to turn the page’
<i>nuri-nuri</i>	<-	<i>nuru</i>	‘to rub cream or medicine on one’s skin’
<i>nade</i>	<-	<i>naderu</i>	‘to pat or someone or something’
<i>tsunee</i>	<-	<i>tsuneru</i>	‘to nip or pinch someone’s body’
<i>biRmu</i>	<-	<i>biRmu</i>	‘to beam’

⁸ For the terminology of *onomatopenize*, see Waida (1984: 63).

b. With onomatopoeia markers

<i>misbirakashiQ</i>	<-	<i>misebirakasu</i>	'to show something off'
<i>odangoQ</i>	<-	<i>odango</i>	'dumpling'/'be jam-packed or crowded'
<i>yabuhebiQ</i>	<-	<i>yabuhebi</i>	'to backfire or boomerang on someone'
<i>sassoR</i>	<-	<i>sassoo (-to)</i>	'walking with a brisk step'
<i>noRnashiR</i>	<-	<i>noonashi</i>	'to be incompetent'
<i>kiRkku</i>	<-	<i>kikku</i>	'to kick'

4 Several Constraints of Onomatopoeia in Japanese (Hamano 1998)

4. 1 Intervocalic /p/

Hamano (1998: 195-200) discusses CVCV-based reduplicated mimetic adverbs and summarizes the numbers of CVCV roots which contain intervocalic /t, s, k/, /d, z, g/, /p/ and /b/ as in Table 1. It shows that intervocalic non-labial obstruents are mostly voiceless (179 in /t, s, k/ and 26 in /z, d, g/). On the other hand, in the case of the labial pair, the voiced members outnumber the voiceless members (28 in /b/ and 4 in /p/). Hamano (1998: 198) considers this as in (12).

Table 1 CVCV roots (Hamano 1998: 196, emphasis mine)

C1 \ C2	t	s	k	d	z	g	p	b
p	13	5	13					
b	11	6	9					
h	5	4	5			1		
m	2	3	5		5	3		
w	3	3	3	1	5			
t			10	1	1	1	1	2
d	1	2	6					6
s	2		6		1	2	3	3
z	1	1	6					5
n	4	1	4					2
y	2	1						1
k	11	7		2				3
g	12	7	5	1	2			6
total	67	40	72	5	14	7	4	28
			179			26	4	28

- (12) The voiced obstruent /b/ thus appears precisely where the voiceless obstruent /p/ is expected. Synchronically, this suggests that intervocalic /b/ is underlyingly /p/ in the mimetic stratum. The historical interpretation of this conclusion, of course, is that intervocalic /b/ derived from */p/ in the mimetic stratum.

(Hamano 1998: 198)

Hamano also claims that the cases of intervocalic /p/ are limited to those given in (13). Nasu (1999) takes a similar view to Hamano and suggests that if C₁ represents voiced non-labial obstruents, the labial in C₂ should also appear voiced as in (14a) and the voiceless labial in C₂ should be avoided as in (14b).

- | | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|--------------------|
| (13) <i>sipa-sipa</i> | 'tired (of eyes)' | |
| <i>supo-supō</i> | 'going through easily' | |
| <i>supa-supā</i> | 'straightforwardly' | |
| <i>tapo-tapo</i> | 'the sound of liquid slopping about' | (Hamano 1998: 198) |

- (14) a. zaba-, zabu-, zubo-, zubu-, daba-, dabo-, dabu-, dobo-, dobu-, gebo-,
 gebu-, gaba-, gabo-, gabu-, gobo-
- b. *zapa-, *zapu-, *zupo-, *zupu-, *dapa-, *dapo-, *dopu-, *gepo-, *gepu-,
 *gapa-, *gapo-, *gapu-, *gopo- (Nasu 1999)

Some of the onomatopoeic expressions in comics are contrary to these constraints; in fact, several onomatopoeic expressions can be found whose C₁ is voiced obstruents and C₂ is voiceless labials as in (15). According to this, it seems reasonable to suppose that the combination of voiced obstruents and voiceless labials in a CVCV root of onomatopoeia are exceptionally accepted as neologisms.

- (15) *gipa*
gopo-poN
gopo-po-poR

4.2 Palatalization

Discussing palatalization of consonants in CVCV based forms, Hamano mentions the constraint that non-coronals may be palatalized only in the first syllable as in (16). By this constraint, forms as in (17) should be ruled out but there are some contrary examples in comics as in (18).

- (16) *pyoko-pyoko* 'hopping around'
hyoko-hyoko 'bobbing'
kyoro-kyoro 'looking around inquisitively'
gyoro-gyoro 'looking around wide-eyed' (Hamano 1998: 178)

- (17) **pokyo-pokyo*
 **dobyu-dobyu* (Hamano 1998: 177)

- (18) *gokya*
gakyu-kyu
gihyuN

5 Metaphorical Use of Onomatopoeic Neologisms

While expressions or word forms are conventional in themselves, a few of them sometimes may take on a different usage in a certain context. An onomatopoeia *juu(Q)* is a good example. According to the *Dictionary of Iconic Expressions in Japanese*, *juu(Q)* is defined as "a short sizzling sound." It thus follows that *juuQ* is normally used as *giongo* to refer to a particular sound. On the other hand, the following (19) is an example of conventional onomatopoeia *juu(Q)* but is not in common use; normally it should be used as a *giongo* (sound onomatopoeia), an onomatopoeic expression to refer to sounds, but it is clear that (20) is used as a *gitaigo* (mimetics) to refer to a particular human emotion or manner. In this case, it is likely that *juuQ* should be extended from *giongo* to *gitaigo*.

- (19) Metaphorical use (cf. Takiura 1996)

<i>juuQ</i>	'to sizzle or fizzle'	->	<i>juuQ</i>	'to get depressed'
	<giongo>			<gitaigo>

Inoue (2008) considers examples from novels in which some conventional and polysemous onomatopoeia in Japanese such as *gata-gata* and *sara-sara* extended from *giongo* into *gitaigo* through the co-occurring usage of *giongo* and *gitaigo*. Figure 1 explains how a polysemous onomatopoeia *gata-gata* semantically extends from one meaning to another.

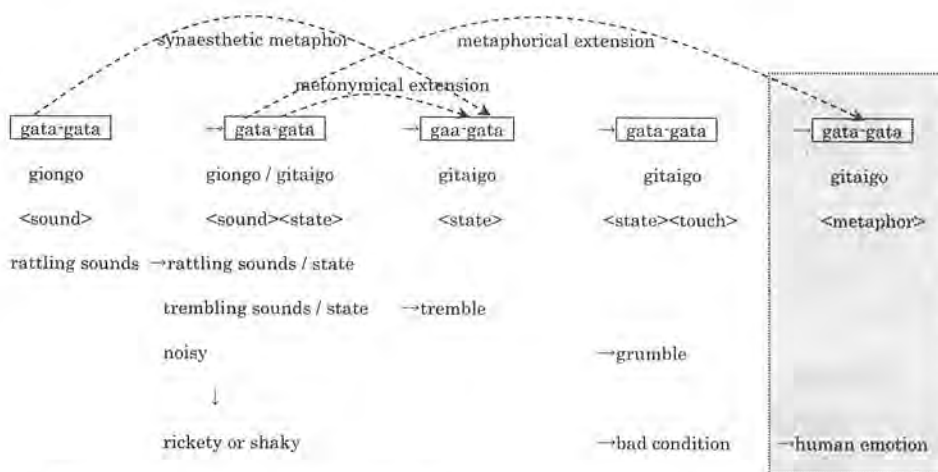


Figure 1 Semantic extensions of polysemous onomatopoeia (Inoue 2008: 62)

In the case of *juu(Q)* in (19), it is possible to consider the issue from a similar perspective, as that illustrated in Figure 1. In most cases, an expression *juuQ* refers to a short sound emitted by something, and we might perceive the state of the thing as well as the sound. The conventional usage as *giongo* metaphorically extends to *gitaigo* to refer to a particular state, and then to human emotion based on the similarity of those two referents, that is, the sizzling state of something and the manner of someone who gets depressed.

6 Conclusion

In this paper, we have seen examples of onomatopoeic expressions in Japanese comics to come to three findings. Firstly, it was made clear in section 3 that there were several patterns of neologisms compared to the previous studies: reduplicated forms, novel forms, combined forms of conventional onomatopoeia, forms using unconventional ways of writing in Japanese, and forms derived from common words. Secondly, we found in Section 4 that there were novel onomatopoeic examples which were against some of the

constraints of conventional onomatopoeia concerning intervocalic /p/ and palatalization of consonants, but we have not had enough discussion on what causes such unusualness in Japanese comics in this paper. Finally, we considered in Section 5 that some onomatopoeia could possibly extend from conventional usage to unconventional novel usage in a certain context. We have only limited examples of this pattern, however, and it is necessary to observe more examples for further discussion.

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